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# MASSACHUSETTS LIBERTY CONVENTION, AND SPEECH OF HON. JOHN P. HALE,

TOGETHER WITH HIS  
Letter Accepting his Nomination for the Presidency.

## Our State Convention.

This important anniversary has come and gone. And we do but echo the thoughts of every friend who attended, in saying that it was by far the most animating and hopeful meeting of the kind that the Liberty party has ever held in Massachusetts. The number in attendance was unusually large, filling the Tremont Temple as full as an ordinary congregation all day. And of these, very many were new faces, now for the first time met to co-operate politically with the friends of emancipation. All parts of the State were more fully represented than usual. The complete harmony of feelings and views was highly gratifying. The whole multitude were of one heart and of one mind. All seemed to feel sure that the Liberty party is in the right track, and that we have nothing to do but to go ahead. All the details of business were done up with ease and promptness. A new and large State Committee was chosen, embracing about one hundred of our staunchest men, in all parts of the Commonwealth, who will be likely to give the campaign an effective impulse this year.

The Convention met in the Tremont Temple, and was called to order at 10 o'clock on Wednesday, Jan. 26, by Dr. CALEB SWAN, of Easton, who read the call of the Convention.

The following names were reported by the committee as officers of the convention, and they were unanimously chosen:—

President, Hon. APPLETON HOWE, of Weymouth; Vice Presidents, Hon. James G. Carter, of Lancaster, Hon. Wm. Jackson, of Newton, Lorenzo Rice, Esq., of North Adams, Dr. Lemuel Gott, of Rockport, Dr. M. R. Randall, of Rehoboth, Moses Breck, Esq., of Northampton, Asaph Rice, Esq., of Northboro'; Secretaries, Dr. Wm. F. Channing, J. W. Alden, John C. Whittier, H. M. Chamberlain, Esq.

The president, on taking the chair, addressed the convention on the importance of the objects for which they were assembled.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Phineas Crandall.

## RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That the Liberty Party was organized for the purpose of political action against Slavery, as the greatest political evil of the country, on the principle, that the overthrow of Slavery is the most urgent political duty.

2. *Resolved*, That the party has ever remained true to its original profession as a union of anti-

slavery men of all parties, not to destroy any thing good in any of them, but to remove the grand disturber, which prevents all of them from accomplishing any permanent good to the country.

3. *Resolved*, That the Liberty Party nominated JOHN P. HALE as their candidate for the Presidency, as an honest and competent man, occupying their ground, resolved to labor for their objects, known to be whole and true-hearted in whatever he undertakes, and capable of filling with honor the highest station, and of administering the Constitution as President of this Republic, so as to secure the blessings of Liberty to all the inhabitants thereof.

4. *Resolved*, That we exult in the manly course pursued by Mr. Hale in the discharge of his official duties, and thank God for having raised us up the man for the hour;—whose fearless independence challenges the respect of the slaveholders, as his elevated views of political morality demand the homage of every good man.

5. *Resolved*, That the Buffalo Convention, in settling the policy of the Liberty Party on the only stable basis of unity in our "one idea," and charity in all other points of difference, has also settled its destiny, as an organization competent to its object, and true to its profession; and we again invite all anti-slavery men, who are willing to forego their political preferences on minor issues until Slavery is overthrown, to join with us on the only platform of united action which is broad enough and strong enough to secure its object.

6. *Resolved*, That after we had been for several years trying to open the eyes of the people to the danger of the annexation of Texas, and the oracles of the other parties, down to the latest moment, refused to take any stand against it—it is a foul calumny, by whomsoever uttered, to attempt to throw upon the Liberty Party the odium of annexation. Why, if the whig party were opposed to annexation, did they not take a firm and consistent stand, with us, against it; and what has become of their boastful and valiant promises to undo, by a "joint Resolution," of Congress, what a joint Resolution was about to consummate.

7. *Resolved*, That while we cordially approve and adopt the principle of the Proviso originally offered by Mr. Wilmot, and are determined to apply it with zeal and energy to all territory hereafter brought under the jurisdiction of the United States, howsoever and from whomsoever acquired, we cannot fail to understand, and owe it to ourselves and the country to proclaim, that it does not meet the crisis to which the country is brought by the overshadowing influence and encroachments of Slavery as it already exists; and it does not, of itself, afford a basis broad enough and permanent enough for successful political action against the great evil upon which we wage the uncompromising war of extermination.

8. *Resolved*, That the true interests and honor of the country alike demand that our armies should be unconditionally and immediately withdrawn from Mexico, by "the shortest and cheapest route."

9. *Resolved*, That this country owes an atonement to the civilized world for its violation of the laws of nations, and its betrayal of the cause of republicanism and free principles, by unsheathing the sword for purposes of conquest and aggressive war in its present cowardly assault upon Mexico.

10. *Resolved*, That we view with abhorrence alike the unblushing support of the war by the democratic party, and the verbal denunciations, but ready voting of supplies by the whig party.

11. *Resolved*, That the only question now at issue between the whig and democratic parties is, not whether the war shall be carried on until Mexico is conquered, but whether it shall be fought out under the lead of Whigs or Democrats.

12. *Resolved*, That, although, as earnest and practical men, in view of the present crisis—the Mexican war—the impending danger of new accession of slave territory, and the urgent duties imposed by the approaching Presidential contest, we have no time to waste in discussing the nice points of the Constitution, which, for the present, is wholly unavailable for freedom, and held in duress by slavery, it being our first duty to emancipate that instrument, and take the ark of our political covenant out of the hands of the Philistines; yet, we can all agree:

*First*, That the Constitution imposes no obligation upon the people to sustain or countenance slavery, in any case whatever, and

*Secondly*, That Government has no power to create, extend, or foster domestic slavery, and that all acts on its part having this object in view are manifest usurpations.

13. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of all who love their country and their race, to unite in a determined effort to rescue the Constitution from the guardianship of those who have perverted its language, and violated its spirit, and made it a mere nose-of-wax in their hands, to be moulded into such shapes as suit the interests and designs of the slave power, and to place it in the keeping of men who will interpret its provisions in the light of Truth and Liberty, and call into exercise all its powers for the promotion and extension of freedom, and the consequent limitation and eradication of slavery.

14. *Resolved*, That the foundation principle of the Liberty party is the equality and brotherhood of the human race—the right of all to freedom, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the consistent carrying out of this principle, in obedience to the Gospel injunction of doing unto others as we would others should do unto us, in all the relations of life, is the dictate alike of duty and expediency, that our good may not be evil spoken of, and our sincerity, in arraying ourselves as a political party against the grossest form of oppression, may be placed beyond suspicion.

15. *Resolved*, That the Press is essential to the progress and permanency of the cause of the slave in the public mind, and that the EMANCIPATOR ought to be taken, especially during the coming year, by at least five thousand Liberty men in Massachusetts; and the members of this Convention pledge themselves to endeavor to extend its circulation.

APPLETON HOWE, *President*.

## Mr. Hale's Speech

*Before the Massachusetts Liberty Convention.*

The report of this able and eloquent Speech which follows, is taken mainly from the Whig, corrected and amended by a comparison with the more full report of Dr. Stone, in the Chronotype.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS, LAWYERS AND GENTLEMEN:—Thanking you for the cordial and enthusiastic greeting with which you have received me, though I have not the vanity to attribute it to any thing personal to myself, but rather to the cause with which my humble name has been somewhat identified, I proceed this evening in obedience to your request, to offer you some suggestions with reference to a subject which should be of engrossing and thrilling interest to every citizen of the Commonwealth, and I shall commence without apology and without preface.

It has always struck my mind that when a physical and moral evil is to be encountered, our first inquiry should be into the character and cause of the evil.

Go into any of the streets, and lanes, and by-places of this metropolis, or of any of the large cities and towns of this country, and you will find in all those places the miserable victims of intemperance. Physical, mental, and moral decay are in full operation upon them; disease in every form to which the human constitution is subject, has seized upon them; and they are walking about, a living death; but they do not know what is the matter with them. They continue daily to pour down drafts of liquid fire, reducing their minds to idiocy and their bodies to putrefaction, and still they are inquiring, what is the matter? They have coughs and colds, fevers and agues, but they are most sadly at a loss to know the cause of it.

It has struck me that the situation of the United States at the present moment is not entirely unlike that condition. Our resources and our credit are being exhausted, our fair fame withered, our hopes blasted, and the keenest vision cannot discern in the distant future the day star of hope, and yet our wisest statesmen are looking hither and thither to know what is the cause of it.

We are engaged in a war, a war that brands the nation as savage, and the age as barbarous, and we don't know how we got there. We don't know who is responsible for it. Says one, O, yes, I know, it was the march of Gen. Taylor from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande. That's the cause of it. Another says, No, it was the Mexican debts. O no, says a third, it was because the Administration wanted to supplant one General in Mexico, and put in another. And so they go through the whole round

of secondary causes, but don't know what ails us. There is not a child of ordinary understanding that does not know the cause. You cannot go into a church and hear a sermon without hearing it. You cannot look your neighbor in the face,—you cannot look to the right or the left but what you see it stamped in horrid lineaments.—Every body knows it, but nobody dares to say so.

Now, my friends, I propose this evening to treat this subject. I propose to suggest to you my own opinions upon this subject, and to do it plainly. And when I say that, you will not accuse me of any design to flatter you. I know nothing flattering to say to you upon this subject. I do not come here this evening with anything new. I have addressed a great many public assemblies in this State and in many other States, and it would be strange if there was anything new for me to say. The condition of the country is just the same. There is the same great disturbing element, the same great causes in operation, and the same effects developed; and how can any one speaking truthfully, say anything new upon the subject. No, my friends, the subjects are old and familiar, though not so old as they will be, nor so familiar as I wish they were.

Let me, in the first place, say a word or two on some of the difficulties which lie in the way of a right discernment of the subject; and one difficulty seems to me to lie here. We are unwilling to look at the question as individuals. We are unwilling to see and acknowledge, that to every individual there is an individual responsibility, but we are endeavoring to throw off the responsibility upon somebody else. We are looking at the subject in every light except that of individual duty.

One of the most palpable and obvious ways in which this is done, is to throw it upon the Government; and that seems to be all-sufficient. When a man has said that he has found the cause, that the Government have done so and so, he thinks no doubt that he has conveyed an idea by the words he has uttered. Let me ask such a man if he ever saw that Government? Do you know where the government lives? Oh yes, says one, it is at Washington. No, my friends, I have been to Washington, and you might search there for the government with as little effect as Diogenes searched with a candle at noonday for an honest man. The government is not there. You will meet some gentlemen there who will tell you they are far from being the government. They are only the humble servants of the people, and would be shocked with the idea of being the government. And they are right—they are not the government.

Where is it then? Why, my friends, it is here. It is in the faces of the intelligent community before me, and around me, and I have never

seen, nor do I expect to see, a more living embodiment of the government of the United States, than I now see before me. When you want to look at the responsible authors of the calamities of the United States, they are here. The government of every country is exactly what the popular sentiment makes it; it is just exactly as good as the people, and no better; just exactly as bad, and no worse; it is the consent, the will, the purpose of the people that give force, vitality and energy to the action of the government; and the idea that under a popular and elective system of government there are responsibilities pertaining to the government separate from those pertaining to the people, is, to say the very least of it, ridiculous and absurd.

The responsibility lies with the people, and the Government do just exactly what the people want them to do. Have they sent their armies to Mexico? Have they bombarded her cities, and when the defenceless women and children, despairing of help from any earthly arm, thronged the temples of the Most High, have they sent their Christian bomb shells into those temples, painting their walls with the blood and brains of women and children? Who has done it?—Why, my friends, you have done it, your agents have done it, and they have done it because the popular taste would not be satisfied with any thing short of a picture with such living colors. When the time comes when the popular sentiment shall be so renovated that your taste will not sustain this, then, and not till then, will these public exhibitions cease.

I think I heard a solitary voice say that this responsibility belonged to Mr. Polk. Well, I have heard it said elsewhere. I have heard within the last two months from my seat in Congress, great and venerable statesmen in the American Senate say it, and attempt so to vote as to throw the responsibility upon the President. Why, my friends, it is utterly impossible. There is a degree of responsibility which belongs to every man; for the right discharge of his duties he is accountable, and it is idle to attempt to throw it anywhere else.

One of the great difficulties lying in the way is that we merge the responsibility belonging to the individual into the irresponsibility of party majorities. We remember that we are Whigs or Democrats, but forget that we are something higher, holier, than Whigs or Democrats, that we are immortal beings with responsibilities pertaining to us, individually, which we cannot put off. We forget that we are the common children of one Almighty Parent who makes men and women, but does not make Whigs and Democrats.

If, then, the responsibility belongs to the people, the people have a duty to perform, till we come up to the perception of that it is idle to talk; because right action

gin where the responsibility rests, and the government will be nothing more nor less than the popular will and sentiment. It is perfectly idle for us to quarrel with the index which we have ourselves put up. The remedy, then, is with the people. So it must begin, and so it will end, because when the people are right, the government is right as a matter of course; and it seems to me that these are propositions too palpable to need further elucidation. Then, my friends, what have we got to do? To inculcate right opinions, and right action will flow out of it.

Allow me to say one word upon a most lamentable error. We fancy that there is something very potent in getting together, particularly in large numbers, and passing stringent resolutions. The most gratifying fact in the history of resolutions which I have seen has been this; that when the State of New Hampshire in 1846, passed some pretty stringent Anti-slavery Resolutions, the Governors of South Carolina and Virginia sent them back to us. They don't send back Massachusetts Resolutions; and why? Because, it is perfectly understood when you pass them that they mean nothing. You passed resolutions against the Annexation of Texas, Whig and Democrat, unanimously, in the strongest terms in which language could shape them, and you sent them to Washington. What effect did they have? Just as much as if you had sent them last year's Almanac, and no more. Texas was annexed; War with Mexico followed, and they sent for a Massachusetts Regiment to go and fight the War of Slavery. *And they went*—and if they send for another, they will go, accompanied with a resolution perhaps.

But why did they send back the New Hampshire resolutions? It was something new and strange, coming from New Hampshire; they feared we were getting refractory, and wanted to apply the rod in season. And I hope they will continue to send them back until we learn to throw a little more *resolution* into our *resolutions*. When we do that, they won't come back. The resolutions passed in 1775, and sent across the waters to Great Britain, didn't come back. There was meaning in them, and they knew that the resolutions of to-day would be followed by the action of to-morrow.

Allow me now to take up the question which I proposed to treat upon,—What produced this War? The answer must be anticipated by every body. It was slavery. "Another abolition lecture," says some one. Perhaps so, but when we learn that slavery at the present moment is taxing the people beyond all former precedent, when we know that we are spending this year nearly three times as much as was spent in the last war to maintain freedom upon the seas, in another war to maintain slavery upon the land, is it not time to speak out? I

know that there have been prophets upon the mountains that have foreseen the dark cloud and have sounded the alarm, but the people said, Not yet. The cloud has extended in dimensions, and settled in thick night upon us, and the alarm has been again sounded, but the dull sleepers say, Not yet. And now the whole horizon is overcast, and the tempest is about us; the moral indignation of earth and the judgments of God come in thick succession upon us, but yet it is not time; "Not yet," they say. When will it be time? Where is the moral gauge to measure the length, breadth and depth of our degradation before it will be time for us to wake up? I would like for these men to descend to the bottomless pit, and see if they can find any gauge to measure that depth to which we must sink before it will be time to wake up and arouse.

You hear a great deal said at the North about dough-faced Representatives. You have got them, true enough, but what is the reason of it? It is because they have got a more dough-faced constituency at home. When the people are right upon this subject—when reformation begins in the right place, then, my friends, you will have a right spirit in the Representatives you send. Let me ask you, has there ever been a time in the history of New England, when a Representative could have gone and stood up faithfully, declared the truth upon this subject, and been sustained by his constituency? Has there been a time when the church itself would have sustained such a man? Then, in heaven's name, don't complain of your Representatives; it is because the representative is the representative of the people, and is not the representative of something better than the people, that fault is found with him.

I come then to the elucidation of this question. And when I say that the present war in which we are engaged arises out of the express and avowed determination of the American Government to make the extension and perpetuation of Slavery one of the leading motives of action, I believe I say what is familiar to any one conversant with public affairs. It is a truth so palpable that I don't know but I owe you an apology for making an attempt to establish it here to-night. It is a truth which cannot be winked out of sight, written upon our official history, which will there remain in glaring characters as long as the archives of the American Government stand among the records of time.

I ascribe its origin to the Annexation of Texas; we ought not to content ourselves with any secondary inquiries, and we cannot find its origin short of that. We may have different opinions upon the subject. Some may think that if matters had been managed with prudence, we might have avoided the war; that

Mexico was so weak and distracted that we might have presumed upon our power, and Mexico would have submitted while we acted the robber's part. But when we go back to the prime cause, there can be no mistake as to the character of the conquest in which we are engaged, and for the purposes for which it is carried on. I do not intend to weary you with reading, but the correspondence of our Government is written all over with it. Were a stranger to be obliged to take the correspondence of 1842 and 1844, and to form an opinion of the United States Government and Constitution from it, he could come to no other conclusion but that slavebreeding and slaveholding were the only interests worthy of the fostering care of the National Government.

The Secretary of State, writing to Mr. Murphy, our Charge in Texas, on Jan. 16, 1844, says, speaking of slavery :

"I will only add, that if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she cannot maintain that institution ten years, and probably not half that time."

There was the proposition. If we only let Texas alone ; if we attend to our own business, slavery would die out, and liberty would succeed in five years. That was the attitude in which we were placed. There was the American nation, a republic, springing into existence with the glorious announcement that "All men are born equal," not content with the announcement of it, but appealing to the God of Heaven to attest the fidelity with which they made it, and the integrity with which they would sustain it ; and ere that generation had entirely passed from the stage, we find it carrying on a crusade in foreign lands, and stretching out robber hands to take home the provinces of a sister republic, lest the boon of freedom should be enjoyed by their bondmen, and the withering curse of slavery should die out of their midst. That is the position in which our government placed us, and they have said this, in no equivocal terms, over and over again.

The Secretary of State also declared that the establishment of a Government prohibiting the existence of slavery there, would be one of the greatest calamities which could befall the country. Some of you may say that this does not belong to Massachusetts. "It may be very good talk for your New Hampshire Locofocos, but you don't come it here." But the Government of the United States and the Executive have declared that that was the policy they followed ; that was the reason they laid down as influencing their conduct. And the whole country followed, the whole resources of the country have been pledged ; the arms, the men, the forces of the nation are being employed to-day to carry out these very principles and measures. Your Massachusetts regiment has gone

there to carry out these doctrines and to prevent the calamity of a free nation. Our Government pledged themselves that they would not allow it to succeed without the most strenuous efforts to prevent it ; and what efforts more strenuous than sending men to fight the battles of slavery and paying their expenses ? My friends, it is a national policy ; and the whole nation are responsible for it.

We are like passengers embarked aboard one common ship. If the voyage is prosperous, if the gales of heaven blow propitiously upon us, we all share in the prosperity and in the happiness. But if, on the other hand, storms and disasters overtake us, one ruin will involve us all together, and we cannot separate our lot, one from another. One welfare or one ruin is our lot ; and a common destiny is our inheritance.

That these transactions might not be wanting in atrocity, all was done in the name of freedom.—It was to extend the area of freedom, to extend our free institutions ; because we were a free and Christian people. Ay, and we are sending our missionaries abroad, and I suppose you have in this city societies which ask that you will give of your abundance or your penury to send the gospel off to heathen lands—that *have not got any free institutions*. I would ask where they propose to send the missionaries ? What place so lost and reprobate as to require such a gospel as ours ?—Have they found an island in the solitudes of the ocean, a mountain in the bosom of Asia, or a rock in the desert of Africa, inhabited by a nation or tribe so forgetful of God, so lost to every high, and generous and honorable impulse of humanity, that they are stretching out their hands to extend the empire of chains and slavery ? If they have got such a place as that, give them something ; but see to it that you do not give them more than half of what you can spare. Take the rest, and send a home missionary to the seat of your national government, to proclaim in the ears of your national rulers the first principles of that religion which is to send "deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound."

I wonder how it would have sounded if the Governor of your Commonwealth, in his annual Thanksgiving proclamation, had called upon the good people of the State to come together, and when thanking God for the ingatherings of the harvest, to thank Him also that he had been pleased in His infinite mercy to make us, the people of Massachusetts, the humble instruments of His power in extending the benign influences of slavery over another nation. And yet, if the Administration is right, and if through our means the clanking chain of the slave, and the wailing of the bondsman are heard there, why should we not thank Heaven ? Why, my friends, this suggestion is almost too impious for thought.

yet it is carrying out the avowed policy of our Government.

Here, then, is the position in which we are placed. Here is a war confessedly prosecuted and carried on for this purpose. Look to the developments of the last few days. See the letter published by the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the Senate, in which the Wilmot Proviso is opposed, because it will cause supplies for the prosecution of the war to be withheld. What is it but saying that the moment the people of the United States are determined that no more slave territory shall be annexed to the United States, you will hear no more call for supplies of men and money, that moment you have peace.

Have the people of the free States no interest in this matter? Do the citizens of Massachusetts owe nothing to themselves, to the fame of better days, to the memory of your fathers, nor to the plighted faith you have written in your Constitution? If they can see their national character prostrated, the national energies, wealth, and resources all pledged to such a purpose as this, and do not wake up, let me ask you what will do it? What new purposes must they disclose to wake the dormant patriotism and sleeping energies of those who believe it is not quite time to arouse? I confess that I do not know; I cannot see anything in the future darker than in the present which now envelopes us; and if the measures now publicly avowed be not enough to rouse the people of the free States to a sense of their danger and degradation, I confess that I have not optics which will see deep enough into the pit of infamy to reach the point where they will wake up.

I know that the doctrine prevails extensively that sets it down as treason to make inquiry because we are engaged in a war. It is admitted, that in time of peace you may scrutinize with the greatest severity, and there is no fault to be found, but it is maintained that in time of war, a different rule of morals prevails. Then the voice of opposition should be paralyzed, then there should be no voices but pæans of praise, no notes but shouts of hosannas. I do not so understand our duty. I have not so read history: because I read that in the days when the country from which our ancestors emanated, waged a war upon our fathers, the brightest and purest patriots of English history found the path of duty leading them to the denunciation of a war hostile to liberty, and those names will live, sacred and dear in the memory and hearts of patriots, as long as the love of liberty finds a resting place in the human bosom. The names of those distinguished men who plead the cause of freedom and of justice, against the hand of power in the British Parliament, have not yet been the up as traitors to their country, or enemies upon any; and so long as civil liberty shall advocate, so long shall Chatham, and

those that stood by his side, be held in esteem.

I am at a loss to know how a different rule has ever been established. If an administration has been guilty of minor flagrantcy, and would wash themselves clean of the pollution, they have only to baptize the land in blood and they are clean. It seems to me that the condemnation of such a scale of morals cannot be too loud or too severe. It seems to me that the present is the time for it, and that Massachusetts is emphatically the place. Why, I wonder that Bunker Hill Monument, with all its ponderous weight, can keep the bones of our Revolutionary fathers quiet in their resting places while such sentiments are uttered.

This is still going on. More men and more money is the cry. I have been amused at seeing the attempts to throw the responsibility from one party to the other. I have heard it seriously stated, that if the Congress of the United States had only promptly voted all the volunteers who were wanted, we should have had peace in six weeks. And I could not help admiring the answer,—“Sir, have we not voted every man and every dollar that the President wanted?” And it turned out to be true that he had got every thing he had asked, and has been at work two years to “conquer a peace,” and has not conquered it yet, and now he calls for more men.—Were it not too serious for a joke, I might illustrate it by an incident. I knew a fond father and a foolish son whom the father trusted with money and it ruined him. When the father was bewailing the result, the son said, “Sir, the only fault was that you didn’t give me money enough. I had enough just to ruin me; a little more would have made a gentleman of me.”

It is not necessary for me to state my policy, for I have stated it again and again. I believe the war to be wrong, totally wrong, wrong in its inception, wrong in its purpose, wrong in its object, wrong in its aim, all wrong, everything wrong. I am at a loss to conceive how patriotism or duty requires any man who believes this war to be wrong in all its phases, to vote money to carry it on; I am still more at a loss to know how any man can vote to furnish the means to the administration, and avoid the responsibility of carrying on a wrong and unjust war. To my mind it is as palpable as if I saw an assassin and should give him a dagger, and should say, Mind, I throw the responsibility upon you. It is a principle of law, and good sense too, that in murder there are no accessaries before the fact. They are all principals, those that strike the blow, those that aid and abet, and those that furnish the means; before the deed, all are principals.

I am aware that I shall be accused of fanaticism. I know that it is said to be absurd to attempt to apply Christian morals to national

politics. I know it is said that when the Most High promulgated His command, "Thou shalt do no murder," He meant that you should not kill one man, but might kill a thousand; that when he said, "Thou shalt not steal," He meant that you should not pick one man's pocket, but the command does not apply to robbing nations of their territory, or men of their manhood! Ob, no, this is a fanaticism of the worst kind.

It is absurd and ridiculous, a narrow and contracted view of things, to undertake to measure objects of national concern by such narrow and fanatical ideas as these! I am willing to be a fanatic upon this subject. I believe, my friends, that while the God of Justice sits on the throne of Eternity, it is no more safe for nations than for individuals to violate this law. I am willing to go further than this.

I am willing to subject myself to all the odium and opprobrium of avowing before the American people, that I had rather take my lot with the French Atheists, and deny the existence of a God and a hereafter, than to believe that there is a God that will permit our nation to pursue its present career and prosper. Unless all history is a lie, unless the experience of the past is a delusion, and all prophecy but the insane wanderings of a diseased imagination, the end of our career is neither distant nor doubtful. We must stop; we must retrace our steps, or else the end that is before us cannot be mistaken. It requires no very vivid imagination to fancy that we can hear the ghosts of departed nations all crying out to us from the depths in which they are buried, and telling us to beware that we sail not upon the course where they have found peril and destruction.

To carry out the simile, I would call upon you who are quietly sleeping in the hold, to wake from your slumbers, to look out and see, the wreck of governments which have started before us on the tide of time, lying around in warning profusion. And are we so mad, so stupid, so blind to the past and heedless of the present and the future, as to think we can go on and find safety and peace where all that have gone before us have found peril and destruction?

Let me ask you, therefore, to give this matter your personal attention. We are told that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Wake up and use this vigilance. Every day is big with events. We are writing our history. We are impressing with footsteps as indelible as any of the imprints of Time that little space that we occupy between the eternities of the past and future. We are working out to-day the great problem whether man is capable of self-government. We are to solve for ourselves and for those after us the great question whether, on the whole, liberty be desirable, or whether it shall degenerate into licentiousness, and our free institutions shall but remove those

restraints which have checked man from becoming the victim of his lower passions. When the pilgrim of future ages and other lands shall visit the places now vocal with our sounds, shall he visit with an interest fresh and lively the perennial springs of Liberty, or shall he only wander by the monuments of a Liberty that is dead, of a patriotism that has departed?

Let me then commend this subject to your earnest and individual attention. I do not speak to parties; I am done with them; but I will speak to men and women. Go to your party leaders, and they will give you a different lesson. They will teach you to save the party and let the party save the country. That is it. Party first, and country afterwards. I tell you, friends, let parties take care of themselves; let the dead past bury the past, but let the living see to it that the inheritance they have received as the price of their fathers' blood be not wrenched from their coward hands.

Oh, let Massachusetts be true! Where will she be in the greatest contest that ever States or Nations were invited to? Will she be where your fathers were in the earlier and better days of your history, in the front ranks, or will she be lagging behind and leave this great contest to other hands? I hope that the fair fame of the Commonwealth, world-wide as it is, will be safe in the hands of this generation. I trust that the spirit of Faneuil Hall, of Bunker Hill, of Lexington, and of Concord, will be imparted to us, so that he who shall write of the present shall say it was worthy of the past, and a bright foretaste of a glorious future.

I leave the subject with you, my friends. I owe an apology for the incoherent manner in which I have spoken, but I have endeavored, not to make a speech, but to throw out my heart before you. I know I have done it, in a manner unworthy of the subject, but I leave it with you. I ask you, one and all, to take it home and resolve that whatever may betide the country, whether weal or woe be our destiny, so far as you individually are concerned, you will do your duty alone is yours; events are God's. A dark stain cannot be wiped out—if the plague cannot be stayed—if the victim must still fill the ears of the High, and the Almighty shall at last arouse he surely will, may each and every one of you be enabled, in that day of retribution, to appeal to your Maker in witness, that you at least never did this wrong.

After the cheering at the close of the Convention, Mr. Stanton moved the following resolution, which was adopted with prolonged applause:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to Mr. Hale for the able and eloquent exposition which he has given of the relations to slavery, and the measures to be taken thereupon.



## Nomination for the Presidency.

### MR. HALE'S ACCEPTANCE.

We give the following interesting correspondence from the Cincinnati Herald. Mr. Hale's letter is all that we expected—full, clear and independent. With such a representative of our principles, we can labor on with renewed energy.

"CINCINNATI, Nov. 5, 1847.

"DEAR SIR:—In discharge of a duty devolving upon me by a Resolution of the National Liberty Convention, (held at Buffalo, N. Y. on the 20th and 21st of October last,) I have the honor to inform you that you were nominated by that Convention as the candidate of the Liberty party for President of the United States at the Presidential election to be held in 1848.

"With assurance of my personal regard, I remain, very respectfully, yours,

SAMUEL LEWIS.

"Hon. J. P. Hale."

WASHINGTON, JAN. 1, 1848.

"SIR:—Yours, of the first of November, notifying me that the Convention holden at Buffalo, on the 20th and 21st of October last, had presented my name to the people of the United States as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, is before me.

It is due to candor to say, that while I appreciate, in its fullest extent, the favorable estimation of myself, by the members of that Convention, indicated by the nomination, were I to consult my own wishes, I should peremptorily decline it. Deference, however, to the opinion of those friends who have sustained me by their counsel and support, under circumstances and at times well calculated to test the ardor of their zeal, and sincerity of their profession, has induced a different determination, and I therefore accept the offer, and consent that my name may be thus used in connection with that office.

In announcing to you, sir, as the official organ of that body, this result to which I have come, allow me to add, that, as that Convention, before its adjournment, made provision for the assembling of another of a similar character should unforeseen contingencies and emergencies render such a step proper, nothing would be more grateful to my own feelings than to find the good and true of every party, forgetful of no petty differences which have heretofore divided them, uniting together in one strenuous and heroic effort to redeem the Government because lited States from the reproach to which they are justly subject, for its support of human slavery, and the present unjust and aggressive war upon it has so wantonly commenced, and is patriotically prosecuting for its extension and

ty leading hostile to it: such a movement shall be made in the most earnest purpose, I shall be most cred and dear, consent of those friends who have triots, as long as before the people, to enrol mying place in the humblest privates in the hosts those distinguish under such a banner. I am not at such a movement may yet be freedom and of

r if the Britishes expected of an individual the up as traitor nomination for an important upon any; and now remote the chances of his advocate give some exposition of the

principles he er  
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In accordance with such a supposed expectation, I will cheerfully say to you, Sir, that I coincide with the principles of the resolutions adopted by the Convention which made the nomination.

It has been suggested to me, and indeed I have private letters to the same effect, that doubts have been expressed to some extent, and perhaps much more generally entertained than expressed, whether I really and truly am a "Liberty party man and belong to the Liberty party," and that it is expected of me, that in this communication I should clear up and solve those doubts.

To do this, it is necessary definitely to understand what is meant by the question. If by it, it be intended to ask whether I am ready to co-operate with those who by independent, organized and individual action, are striving to carry out certain principles, such as those embodied in the resolutions of the Buffalo Convention, who desire to withdraw from the institution of slavery that support which it unconstitutionally receives from the General Government, and seek its termination by federal action where it exists under federal jurisdiction, and State action, where it exists under State authority, so that our Declaration of Independence shall be something more than a rhetorical flourish, and the preamble of the United States Constitution, which declares, among other things, that it was ordained to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" no longer be a cruel mockery, then do I belong to such a party. But if it be supposed or intended that there is to be any magical influence in the name of "party," so that by joining it I thereby subject my public conduct to the supervision or direction of its officers or committees, then I say, most emphatically, I do not belong to any such party.

I have been once formally and solemnly read out of the Democratic party, who make such high professions of regard for human rights, by a State Convention, in New Hampshire, and regularly excommunicated for no reason, except a refusal to vote for a measure "calculated and designed" by the open declaration of its friends, "to uphold the interests of Slavery, extend its influence, and secure its permanent ascendancy," and I am not anxious to place myself speedily in a situation in reference to any other party, when any of its members may fancy they have the moral right to repeat the experiment upon me, for any cause, real or fancied.

Besides, to my mind the great evil of the present day, and of our own country, eminently is this universal disposition to merge the responsibilities of individual character in the irresponsibility of a party. Were it not for this, we could have a permanent and honorable peace with Mexico in less than three months; but in their blind partizan devotion, men forget that there is a God higher than the party, or a rule of morals other than political expediency.

It is unnecessary for me farther to enlarge on this subject.

This present session of Congress, with the developments which are constantly in progress, will afford abundant opportunity for those who feel any interest in the subject, in addition to what I have already spoken and written, to be informed of my sentiments on the great practical questions of the day. With much respect, I am, your friend and fellow citizen,

HON. S. LEWIS.

JOHN P. HALE.